# Growth, Inequality and Poverty in post-NAFTA Mexico

Nora Lustig
Shapiro Visiting Professor of International Affairs
Elliott School of International Affairs
George Washington University

"NAFTA at Fifteen" March 27, 2009, GWU

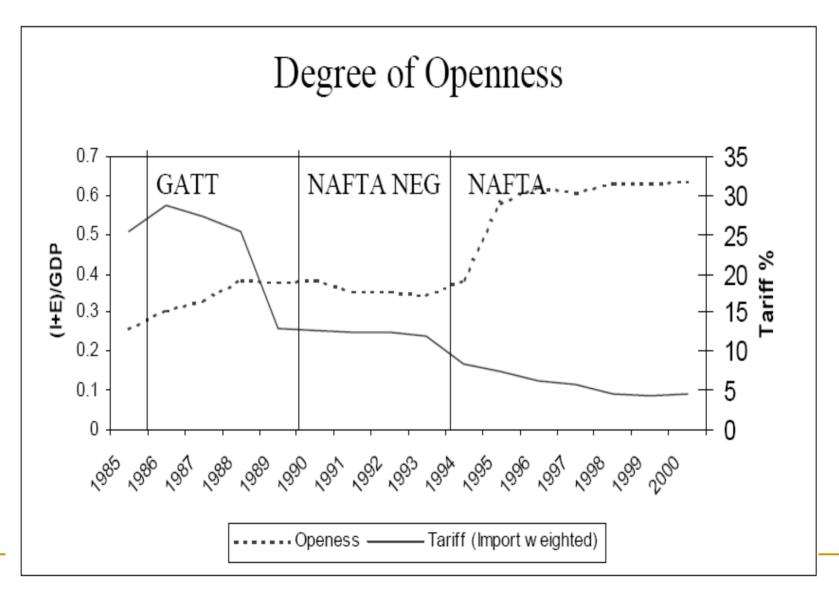
#### Post-NAFTA Mexico

Economic Growth

Distribution of Household Income

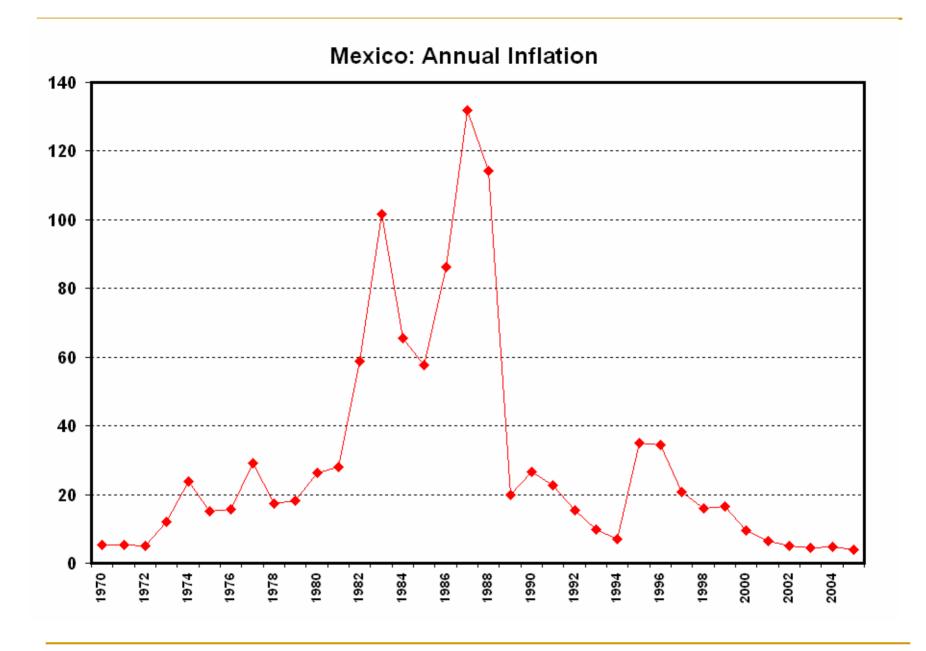
Incidence of Poverty

Figure 2.1 – Mexico's degree of Openness



#### Since NAFTA came into effect...

- Macroeconomic stability: +
  - Controlling inflation
  - Ability to withstand external shocks
    - Except for 1995 peso crisis
- Economic growth: -
  - GDP growth has been lackluster
  - Productivity has not increased beyond the sectors integrated with the global economy
  - No signs of convergence with US; but correlation with US business-cycle rose
- Poverty and inequality reduction: +
  - Poverty has fallen
  - Income inequality has fallen
  - Regional disparities exacerbated (migration flows (internal)?)



### NAFTA was expected to contribute to Mexican growth through its impact on:

- A more efficient allocation of resources
- Access to state-of-the-art technology
- Economies of scale (access to largest market)
- Competitiveness enhanced
- Boon to private investment
- Credibility of gov. policies enhanced

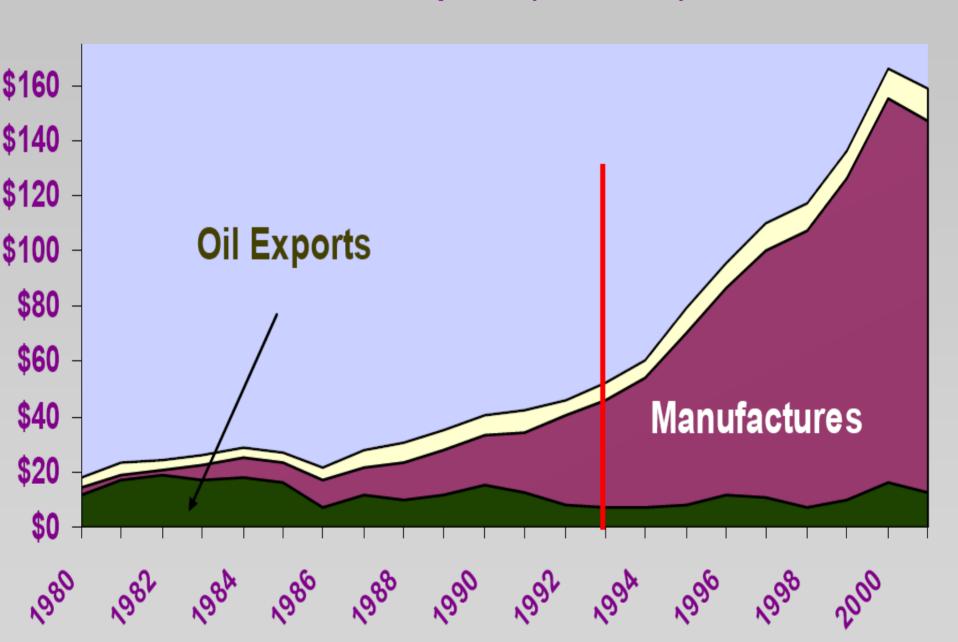
### Export growth (average annual rate in percentage) and Share of international trade in GDP (percent)

	Before	After
Exp	NAFTA	NAFTA
Growth	5.8	11.1
	1982-1984	2001-2005
Export		
Share	27.0	58.2

(Moreno Bid and

Ros, 2009)

#### **Mexico Exports (\$ billions)**



## Results have been disappointing in terms of growth, however

□ GDP growth per year:

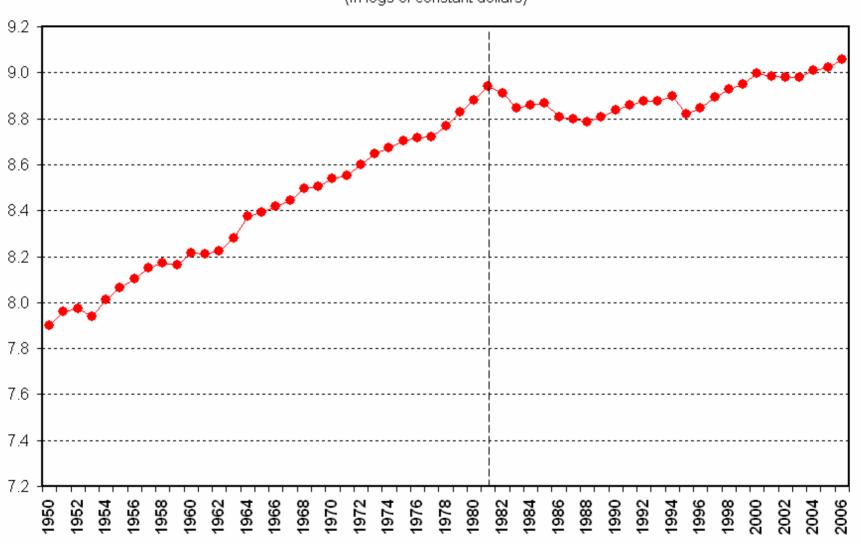
**1960-79: 6.5%** 

**1980-2003: 2.6%** 

**1996-2003: 3.5%** 

#### Mexico: Real Income Per Capita, 1950-2006

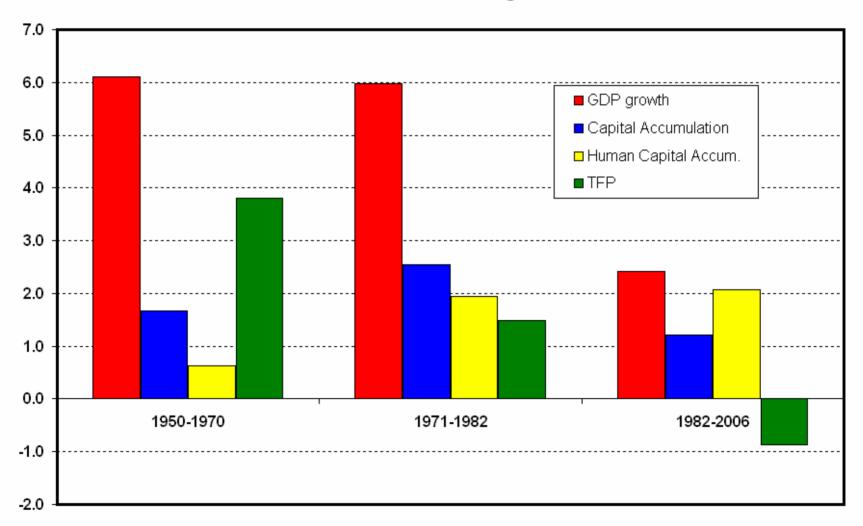
(in logs of constant dollars)



#### Total Factor Productivity

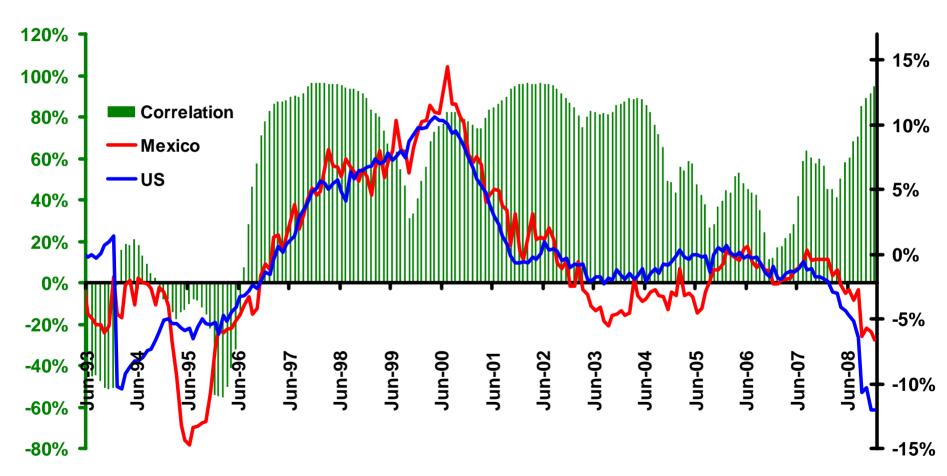
- Declined at a rate of 0.5% a year between 1980-2003, when GDP grew at 2.6 per year
- Explains two-thirds of the decline in the rate of GDP growth (reduction of 3.9 percentage pts. Comparing 1980-2003 to 1960-79) (Faal, 2005)
- Since NAFTA, TFP growth improved, but little:
  - Grew at 0.7% between 1996 and 2003
  - □ Contribution to overall growth 20%

#### Mexico: Growth Accounting 1950-2006



Source: García-Verdú (2007)

### US and Mexico: correlation of business-cycles, manufacturing sector (Feliz, 2009)



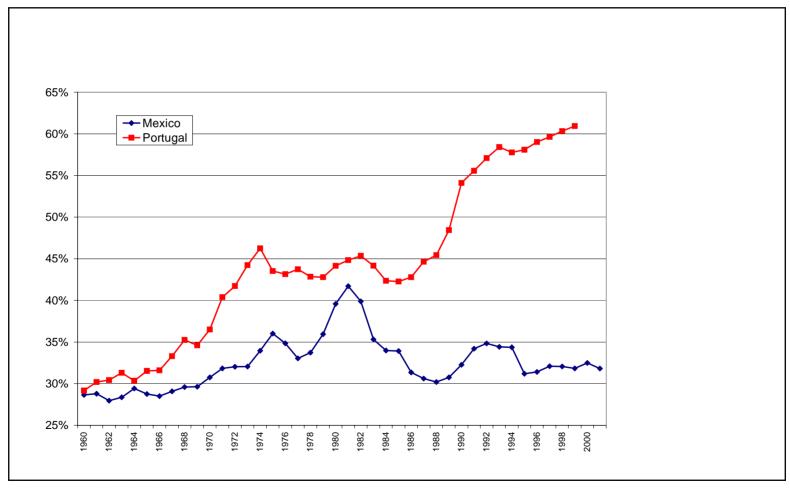
### Convergence

No evidence of convergence with US

 Differences in productivity between US and Mexico explain more than 80% of divergence in income per capita

(Easterly, Fiess and Lederman, 2003)

#### Real GDP per capita in relation to leading regional economy



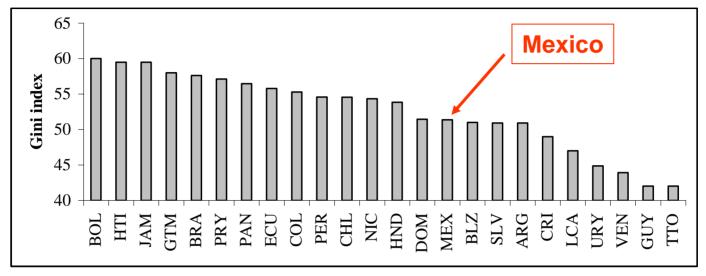
Source: World Bank, Global Development Network Database. Leading economy for Mexico: US; for Portugal: UK-Germany-France average.

### Inequality and Poverty in post-NAFTA Mexico

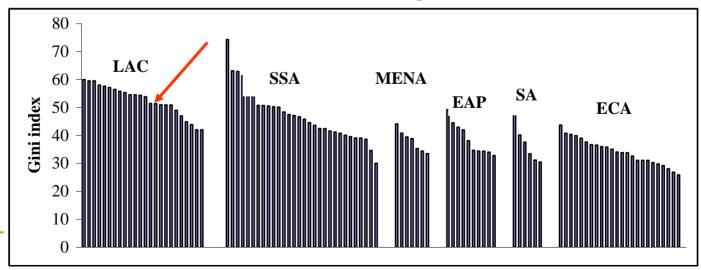
- Between 1998 and 2006 household income inequality fell, reversing a previous trend. Gini coefficient dropped by 4.5-5 percentage points, a significant decline
- Between 1994 and 2006, "food" or extreme poverty fell. The headcount ratio declined from 21.2% to 13.8%

#### Inequality in Mexico

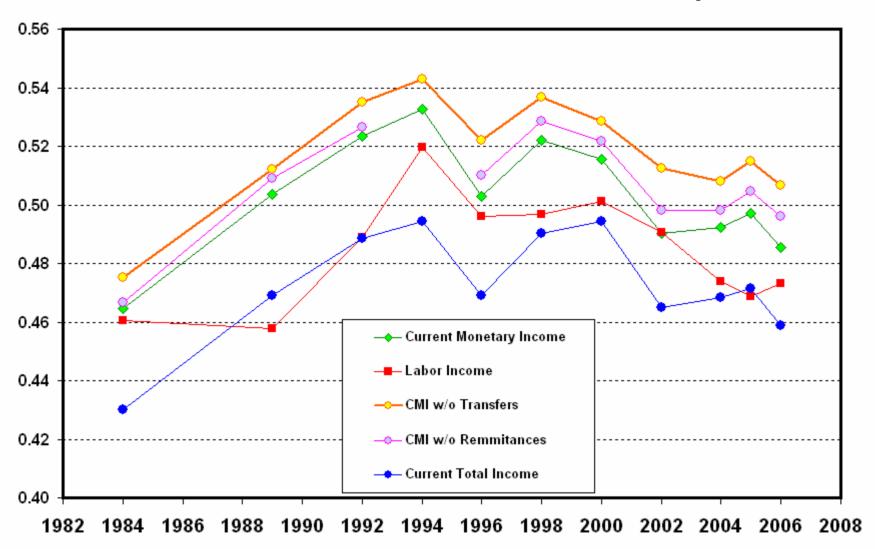
Panel A. Inequality in Latin America



Panel B. Latin America in the global context

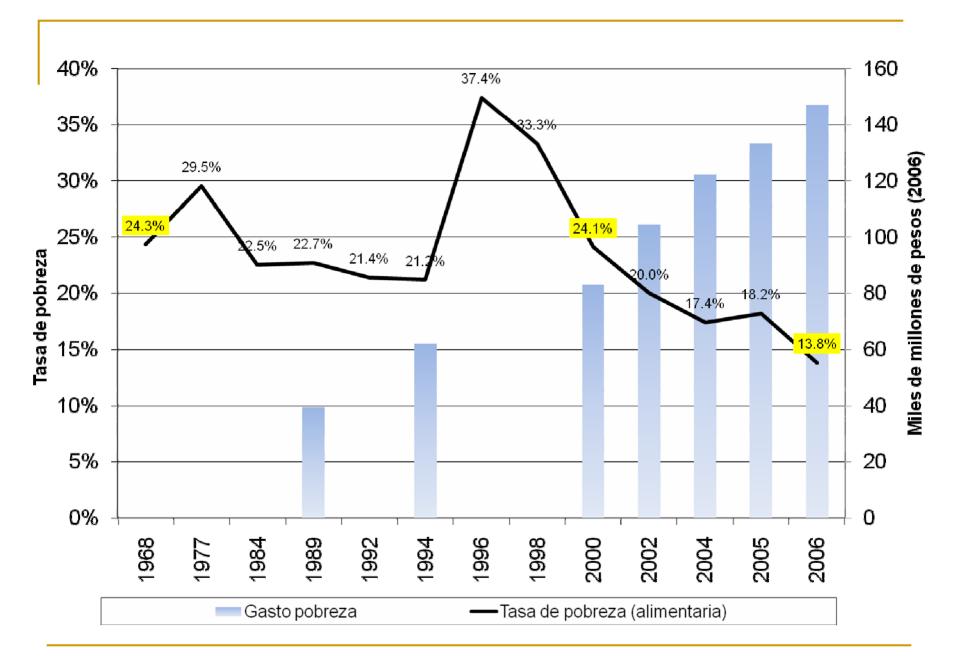


#### Gini Coefficients for Alternative Income Components



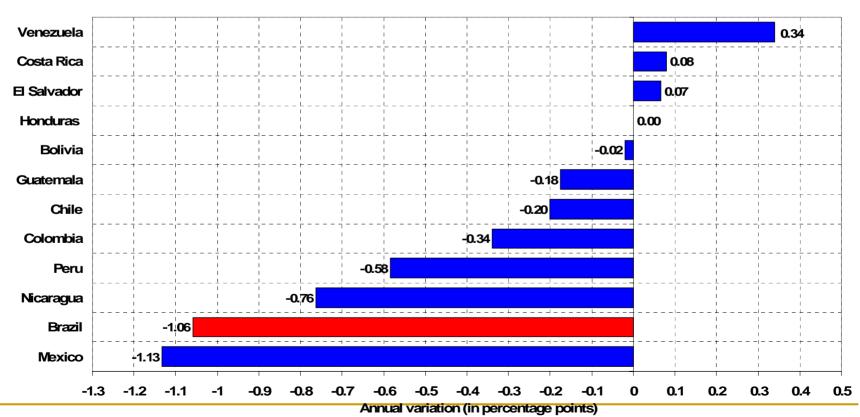
# Latin America: Changes in Inequality mid-1990s-mid-2000s (Cruces et al., 2009) Note: Gini Coefficients

Países	Mediados	Inicio 2000	Mediados 2000	Med. '90 - Inicio '00		Inicio '00 - Med. '00	
	1990	IIIICIO 2000		Variación (1)	Cambio %(2)	Variación (1)	Cambio %(2)
Argentina	47.7	50.0	47.1	2.3	4.8	-2.9	-5.7
Bolivia	58.0	61.6	58.1	3.7	6.3	-3.5	-5.7
Brasil	59.0	58.5	55.6	-0.4	-0.8	-2.9	-5.0
Chile	55.5	55.9	52.4	0.4	0.6	-3.5	-6.2
México	54.3	52.9	49.8	-1.4	-2.6	-3.1	-5.8
Nicaragua	55.9	49.5	52.2	-6.4	-11.4	2.7	5.5
Rep. Dom	47.2	52.3	52.7	5.0	10.7	0.5	0.9
Venezuela	46.5	44.1	45.2	-2.4	-5.2	1.1	2.6



# Changes in poverty in Latin America (Paes de Barros et al., 2009)

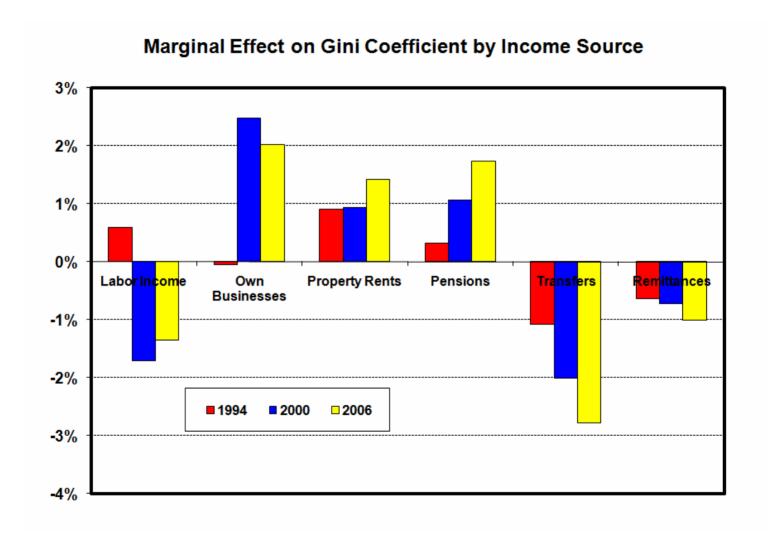
Figure 3.2: Annual variation in extreme poverty - Latin American countries<sup>1</sup>



## What explains the reduction in household income inequality?

- Equalizing Factors:
  - Labor income per worker
  - Remittances
  - Government transfers (excluding pensions)
- Unequalizing Factors:
  - □ Income from property
  - Income from own-businesses
  - Pensions

### Mexico: Income Inequality Sources



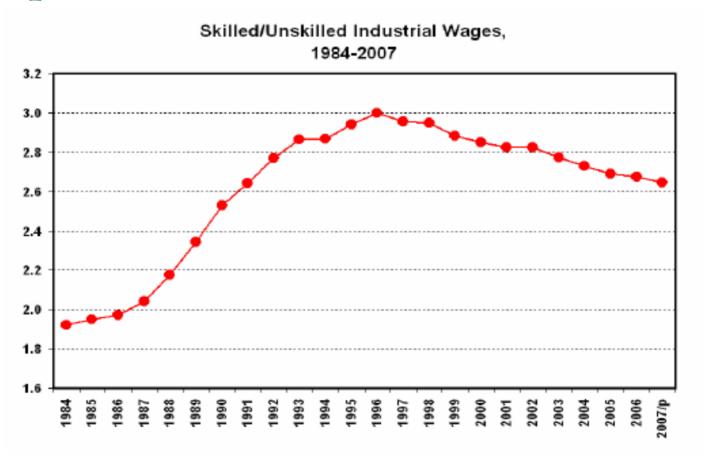
## What explains the reduction in household income inequality?

- Decomposition exercises reveal that the contribution of the reduction in labor income inequality explains more than 70 percent of the reduction of overall inequality
- In turn, the latter is accounted for a reduction in the inequality of average remuneration per worker (i.e., wages) and, to a much lesser extent, to a "better" distribution of employment (i.e., the ratio of employed adults rose relatively more at the bottom of the distribution)

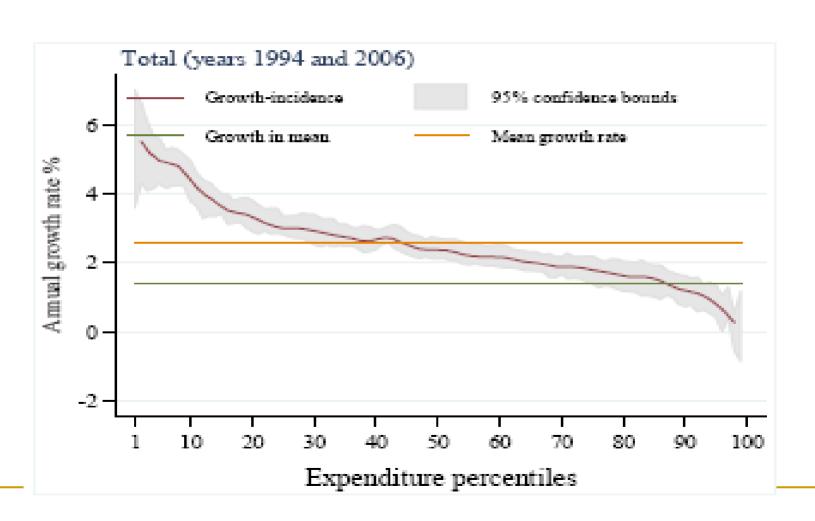
#### **Conclusion:**

- The significant reduction in household income inequality can be attributed to a reduction in wage inequality in the post-NAFTA period. This is observed using other measures of wage inequality as well (see next graph)
- This result together with the evolution of average productivity means that a lot of the job creation occurred at the bottom of the distribution, in low-productivity low-wage employment but that the "low-wages" increased => "pro-poor or grassroots growth"

### Skilled/Unskilled Wage Ratio (Esquivel, 2009)



# Mexico: Growth Incidence Curve, 1994-2006 (Esquivel, 2009)



#### **Caveat**

- Household surveys are not accurate when it comes to measure incomes from capital at the very top
- = > underestimation of concentration of income at the top (Carlos Slim's income is not counted)
- = > if top incomes from capital were included, the growth incidence curve might have risen sharply in the extreme right

# What explains the inverted-U pattern followed by the skilled-unskilled wage gap?

From standard trade theory, analysts expected that trade liberalization in mid-1980s would have resulted in higher demand/higher wages for unskilled workers

As we saw, the results were the opposite

Why?

# Was the rise in *wage* inequality caused by the mid-1980s trade liberalization (before NAFTA)?

- **■** Two views:
  - 1. Factors affecting wages <u>at the top</u>: relative demand/wages for skilled workers increased because of
    - Larger presence of foreign investment (Feenstra and Hanson, 1997);
    - skill-biased technical change (Cragg and Eppelbaum, 1996; Esquivel and Rodriguez-Lopez, 2003);
  - quality-upgrading induced by exports (Verhoogen, 2008)

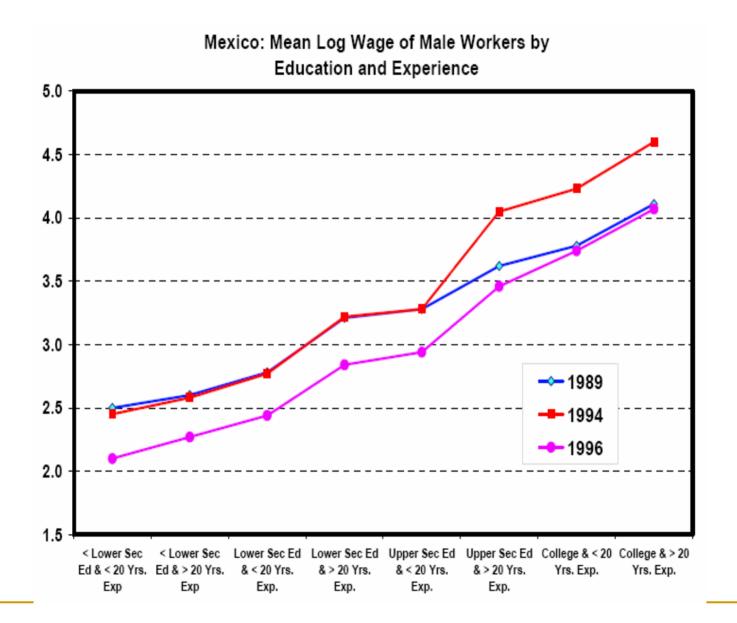
# Was the rise in wage inequality caused by the mid-1980s trade liberalization (before NAFTA)?

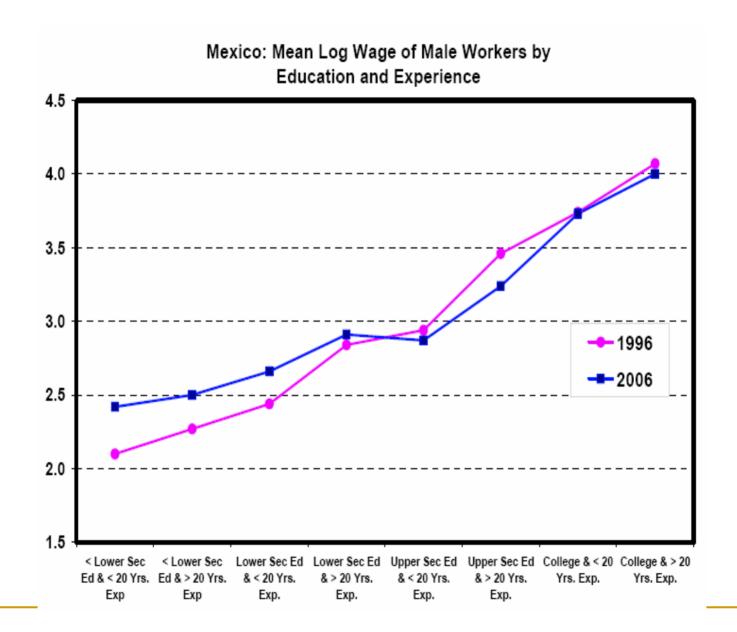
- **■** Two views:
  - □ 2. Factors affecting wages at the bottom:
    - mid-1980s reductions in tariffs disproportionately affected unskilled intensive industries (Hanson and Harrison, 1999)

 Reductions in the minimum wage (Farris, Popli and Zepeda, 2008)

# Was the fall in wage inequality in post mid-90s caused by NAFTA? (Esquivel, 2009)

- No: relative supply of skilled and unskilled workers (Campos, 2008)
- Yes: workers in US and Mexico have become complements rather than substitutes ("maquiladoras") (Robertson, 2007). Also,
- Delayed effect of mid-1980s trade lib.
   (Canonero and Werner, 2002)

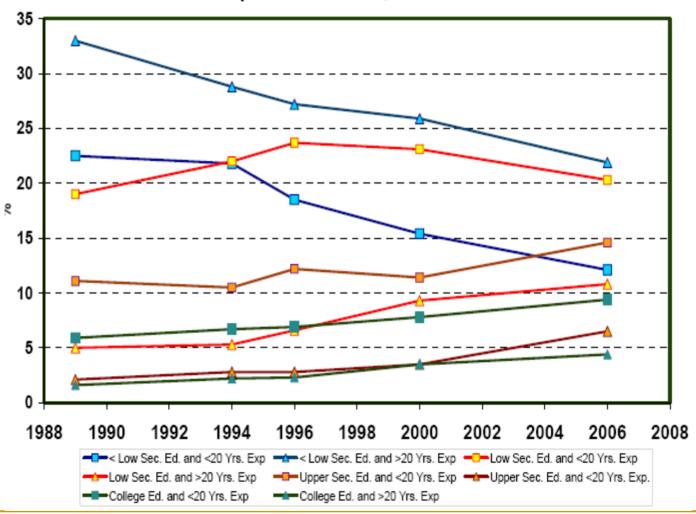




# Was the fall in wage inequality caused by NAFTA? (Esquivel, 2009)

- There clearly has been a change in the composition of the workforce by education levels:
  - □ The share of less-skilled workers (those with less than secondary education) went from 55% in 1989 to 32% in 2006
  - □ The share of skilled workers rose (not nearly as dramatically)

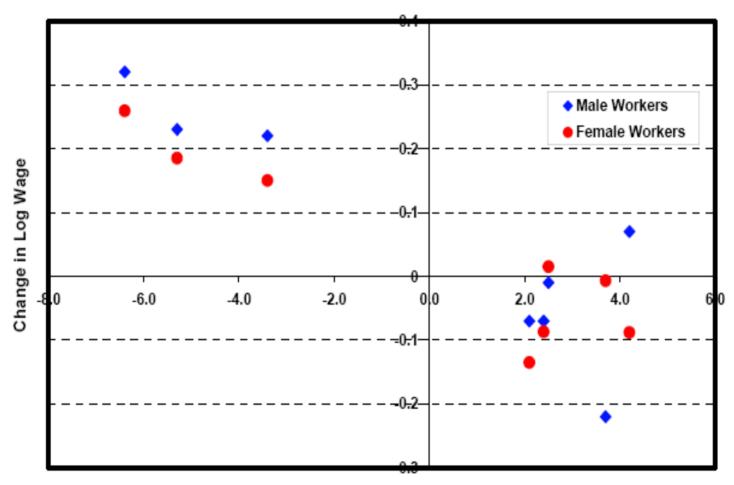
#### Mexico: Workforce Composition by Education and Experience Levels, 1989-2006



# Was the fall in wage inequality caused by NAFTA? (Esquivel, 2009)

- Changes in the distribution of the stock of education coupled with demand for labor by skill patterns, both may explain the reduction in wage inequality
- Relative weight of each, remains to be answered, but next graph shows how wages rose (fell) for workers whose share declined (increased) suggesting supplyside of the story may be the most

### Mexico: Change in Share of Total Workers by Education and Experience vs Change in Log Wage by Gender, 1996-2006



Change in Share of Total Workforce by Categories (percentage points)

### THANK YOU